

THE  
**ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,**  
 UNDER THE SANCTION OF  
 THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 8. No. 2.—New Series.] FEBRUARY 1, 1860.

{ Price Fourpence Stamped  
 Threepence Unstamped.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Monthly Summary.....	25	President Buchanan's Message.....	38
White Slaves in Brazil.....	30	Labour in the West Indies.....	41
The Fugitive Slave and Immoveable Freeman.....	31	Negro Pew in the Rev. Dr. Cheever's Church.....	43
Cotton from the West Indies.....	32	Disabilities of American Persons in England.....	44
Dr. Cheever's Appeal.....	33	Message of Governor Wise.....	45
The late Mr. Joseph Sturge.....	34	Cotton from Anstralia.....	47
Notice.....	36	Advertisements.....	48
The Elgin Settlement, Canada West.....	36		

**Monthly Summary.**

DOMESTIC.—The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have issued a circular, addressed to the Editors of the London and of the principal provincial newspapers, calling their attention to the "Twenty Reasons against the present system of immigration to the West Indies," contained in the Committee's letter to the Duke of Newcastle, published in our last Number. A similar communication has been sent to the Society's subscribers and correspondents, who are urged to endeavour to obtain the insertion of the "Twenty Reasons" in the local papers. Any number of the "Twenty Reasons" may be had on application to the Secretary of the Society, at No. 27, New Broad Street, London.

Her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners chartered, on the 19th ultimo, two vessels, belonging to Mr. J. Wilson, for the conveyance of liberated Africans to the West Indies from Sierra Leone and from St. Helena, viz. the *Mary Ann*, 558 tons, from Sierra Leone to Trinidad, at 6l. per head; and the *Bangalore*, 600 tons, from St. Helena to Grenada and St. Vincent, at 6l. 10s. per head.

The Kaffir "Ned," whose name has been so prominent in our columns, has met with a horrible death. On being discharged by the Grand Jury, by their ignoring the bill of indictment against him for sheep-stealing in Highgate Wood, he was kindly taken into the service of a gentleman officially

connected with the Government of Port Natal, who is resident in London, but intends soon to return to the colony. "Ned" appears to have behaved, as usual, very quietly for a week or two, when his aversion to confinement and restraint prompted him to resume his wild and wandering habits of life. He quitted the house of his benefactor, and in crossing the line of rail was knocked down by an express train which was passing at the time, and which literally pounded him to atoms.

Frederick Douglass is lecturing in the North of England. In answer to inquiries for his address, we beg to say we are not in possession of it, but think it probable that a letter directed to him, to the care of the Rev. Mr. Crofts, Huddersfield, will be duly forwarded to him.

In reply to inquiries respecting the fund now being raised for the Rev. Dr. Cheever, we beg to state that the subscription is under the management of a Committee in Edinburgh, the Secretary of which is Mr. Burn Murdoch, jun., 8 Manor Place, and the Treasurer, Mr. H. D. Dickie, 19 George Street. To these gentlemen all communications should be addressed.

Information has been received at Lloyd's, of the loss of the ship *Flora Temple*, Captain Johnson, bound from Macao in China, to Havana, and laden with Chinese Coolies, the whole of whom, eight hundred and fifty in number, have perished. She sailed on the 8th of October last, and on the 14th struck upon a reef on the coast of Manilla, some 300 miles from land. The captain and the crew, fifty in number, appear to have

been unmanned by fear of the Coolies rising upon them, as, three days after the departure of the vessel, it is said a discovery was made of a plan laid by the Coolies to murder the crew, and take possession of the ship. These unfortunate beings were therefore kept below, while the ship's company made good their escape, abandoning the Chinese to their awful fate. With great difficulty, and after much suffering, exposed to a heavy sea in open boats, and almost without provisions, they fell in with His Imperial Majesty's steamer *Gironde*, off the coast of Cochin China, and immediate steps were taken to rescue the Coolies if possible. The reef was sighted on the 2d of November, but of the ship and the eight hundred and fifty Chinese, not a vestige remained. It is alleged that any attempt to save the Coolies was out of the question when Captain Johnson and his men quitted the ship, for the men were so terrified, that the captain and his brother had the greatest difficulty in securing even the safety of the crew. This terror may be understood when it is stated, that on the third morning after the *Flora Temple* had left Macao, the Coolies fell upon the guard, and after severely maltreating him, killed him with a hatchet, and hacked another of the crew to pieces. They had armed themselves with every kind of weapon they could find, and the mutiny was not subdued before the captain had shot several with his revolver. While the shipwreck must be regarded as one of the natural perils incidental to travelling by sea, the thought involuntarily suggests itself, whether the captain and his crew would have considered themselves justified in abandoning their ship, if she had been freighted say with English emigrants. The fact of the Coolies' rising against them is an eloquent and unanswerable commentary upon the assertion so frequently made, that the Chinese immigrants are free agents. If they were so satisfied with the prospects held out to them that they shipped themselves voluntarily, how is the mutiny to be accounted for, indicating, as it did, an intense desire on their part to regain their freedom?

On the 14th ultimo, Edmund Lane and Gordon Hires, American seamen, the first and second mates of the American bark *Anna*, then lying at Cowes, were brought up on remand before Sir H. P. Gordon, Sir John Simeon, Admiral Crozier, the Hon. W. H. A'Court Holmes, Mr. Roscoe Shedden, and a full bench of county magistrates for the Isle of Wight, charged by Mr. Campbell, Superintendent of the Hants Constabulary in the Isle of Wight, with the wilful murder of six seamen of the above-named vessel, viz. John Turtle, William Pomery, a man known as Frank, William

Johnson, David Pagins, and James Armstrong, all coloured men. The details of this series of most brutal murders are appalling, and have probably already met the eyes of our readers. Owing to some technicality in the Act of Parliament (6 and 7 Vict. cap. 76) on the point of the Court's jurisdiction, the bench was obliged to discharge the accused, but the fury of the mob rendered it necessary to have them removed to Southampton, under the protection of a strong body of police. Here the American Consul, Mr. W. Thompson, had them again charged with the crime of murder on the high seas, and the magistrates, J. Clark, Esq., and Dr. Dusautoy, remanded them to the borough gaol, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of Washington. On the 21st, they were again brought up, and again remanded, in order to enable the United States' Consul time to communicate with the American Minister, with a view to sending the prisoners home for trial. We refer to this atrocious case of cruelty and assassination, as illustrating the fierce spirit to which the system of Slavery gives rise. Negroes and their descendants, though free, have been ruled, by the "Dred Scott decision," to possess no rights whatever. This being the deliberate opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, the logical sequence is, that they may be ill-used, even killed, with impunity, and we hardly expect that any Court in the States will convict these men of murder, in the teeth of a decision which asserts that people of colour are not recognised by Federal law as citizens in any sense, not even in that which places their lives under the protection of the States' Government.

Mr. Ebenezer Burr, of 17 Wilton Terrace, New North Road, has published a letter in a London morning paper, calling attention to the presence in England of the Rev. Dr. McLean, who, as associated with the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, is committed to its pro-slavery policy, but who is gaining access to some of our metropolitan pulpits. He requests our attention to this fact.

An interesting meeting was held, on the 18th ultimo, at the residence of Henry Christy, Esq., to promote the success of the Elgin Settlement, Canada West, which was founded some few years ago, by the Rev. William King, now in this country. In another column will be found full particulars of the proceedings at the meeting referred to.

The Committee of the *Leeds Anti-Slavery Society* have published a tract entitled "The Blast of a Trumpet in Zion," edited by Mr. Wm. H. Pullen, Hon. Secretary of the *Leeds Young-Men's Anti-Slavery Association*. Its purpose is to draw the attention of the members of the Wesleyan denomination in England to the position of the *Methodist*

*Episcopal Church, North*, in America, with relation to the practice of slaveholding, and the question of Slavery. It has, at this time, 15,000 slaveholders in its communion, holding some 100,000 slaves, and not only takes no part in promoting a purification of the church from the sin of slaveholding, but supports those who are thus implicated in it, thus giving its sanction to Slavery as an institution. The *Leeds Society* intends circulating Mr. Pullen's pamphlet amongst the members, lay and clerical, of the Methodist persuasion in the United Kingdom, and solicits the aid of kindred Societies to assist it in this important work. The object of the movement is to induce every Methodist Church in the United Kingdom to send a memorial against slaveholding to the great American Conference of Methodists, to be held at Buffalo, in the month of May of the present year. The suggestion originated from the anti-slavery section of the Church in America, which appeals also to the Anti-slavery Associations in Great Britain, to promote this movement for the purification of the American Methodist Episcopal body from the iniquity in which it is, at this time, implicated.

*The Dundee Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association* has published its eighth Annual Report. The funds raised have been chiefly devoted to promote the cause in America, by donations to *F. Douglass* and *W. S. Bailey's papers*, to the *Buxton Mission*, and to the *New American Abolition Society*.

**AFRICA**—Her Majesty's ship *'Spitfire'*, Commander Chapman, has captured a slaver off Whydah, on the 26th September last, which she brought into Sierra Leone on the 30th October. It had no name, but was conjectured to be the *John Harris* of New York. She has been condemned by the Court of Vice-Admiralty. The whole number of slaves on board at the time of her seizure was 469. They were all shipped the evening before her capture in the short space of an hour and a half. Her entire length is 110 feet, breadth 26 feet 6 inches. Her hold is large and capacious, and the slaves had far more room than usually is the case in other vessels of this description. The passage up occupied 35 days. The number landed at Kiskey was 462—284 men, 104 women, 34 boys, 40 girls. They are chiefly Popoes, Akus, and Tappahs.

The accounts received from the Sherbro district are highly satisfactory, and shew a large augmentation of legitimate trade, while the traffic in slaves has become almost extinct. We derive from an authentic source the subjoined returns of exports and imports for the year 1859.

**Exports**—356,000 gallons of palm-oil, 36,600*l.*; 2550 tons of palm kernels, 15,300*l.*;

300 tons of native manufactured cotton, 1,500*l.*; 90 tons of Benni seed, 720*l.*; 250 tons of camwood, 1500*l.*; 10 packages of raw cotton; 500 tons of rice, 5000*l.*; a few tons of ground nuts; a few elephants' and hippopotami teeth and ivory.

**Imports**—French and English cotton goods, English iron, guns, swords, matchettes, bars, hoops, pots, &c. English crockery, glass, salt, and gunpowder; American rum, tobacco and gunpowder; all to the gross amount of about 60,000*l.*

Advices from the Gaboon are to the effect that the French emigrant traffic continued to be prosecuted, and its baneful influence was sensibly felt. The *Phoenix* had recently sailed with four hundred or more negroes on board; and another vessel, belonging to the same firm, was loading in the river; but she was going to another point on the coast, south of Gaboon, to take in a part of her cargo. Many of the people there, of whom better things were hoped, had been actively engaged in this business as factors. Commerce was increasing. Rum and other foreign liquors were abundant and cheap, so that the means of intoxication are constantly within the reach of all; and the temptation to engage in the rum traffic is said to be more than the most conscientious of the native traders can resist.

**DUTCH INDIA.**—The great work of the emancipation of the Dutch slaves in Java has begun. The plan adopted is modelled on the Act of 1834, which placed emancipated negroes in the British Colonies on the footing of apprenticed labourers. By a subsequent Act (1 Vic. c. 19.) all apprenticeships were to cease after the first of August 1840, but the Colonial Legislature passed Acts anticipating the day. In Java the apprenticeship is to last for six years, from the beginning of 1860 to 1866, after which date full liberty will be conceded. Owners receive 150 francs (6*l.* for slaves worth 1000 francs (40*l.*) each, a rate which is looked upon as liberal. Slavery, in the ordinary sense, does not exist in Java, where free-labour is cheaper, but it is common to all the rest of the Eastern Archipelago. Slaves, with the exception of those belonging to kings, can inherit property and purchase their freedom. They are, like the old Roman slaves, bondsmen for life, or bond-debtors, who pay their debt by labour. The Government would seem desirous of gradually putting an end to the forced-labour system in Java. The holders of sugar contracts have been informed that they cannot receive aid from Government in cutting the cane crops. It is estimated, that during the season, when the cane becomes ripe, 40,000 men per day are required on an average to cut it, and it is asserted, that without the assistance of Go-



vernment it will be impossible to procure so many men.

UNITED STATES.—The American papers have been filled with further minor details of the execution and interment of Captain John Brown. His chief companions in the Harper's Ferry tragedy, Copeland, Green, Cook, and Coppin suffered death on the 16th of December, in presence of a large crowd. The two latter made an attempt to escape from their prison, and succeeded in cutting through the wall, but were discovered and loaded with irons.

Throughout the principal towns of the North, meetings had been held to express sympathy for the family of Brown, and resolutions in accordance with the prevalent sentiment were passed, but in some instances not without uproar. At a meeting of this kind held in New York, a riot was nearly occurring, and Dr. Cheever was compelled to discontinue his address. Mr. Wendell Phillips, however, succeeded in restoring order, and the proceedings terminated quietly.

On Tuesday, 27th December, President Buchanan read his annual message to Congress, notwithstanding that the House of Representatives had not organized itself, in consequence of the contest for the Speakership being undecided. The Republican Candidate, Mr. Sherman, could not secure the absolute majority requisite to constitute a legal election, though he had polled most votes, and within three of the "majority absolute." Up to the latest dates the contest continued. The Presidential message—extracts from which we give in another column—is altogether Southern in sentiment.

The *New-York Herald* says that a reign of terror is approaching in the Southern States, pregnant with the most disastrous results. Travellers from the North are not only looked upon with suspicion in the Southern States, but in many sections of that region they are stopped, and obliged to give a satisfactory account of themselves and their business. If they have not some local acquaintance who can vouch for them, they are followed through all their incomings and outcomings, and not unfrequently find themselves face to face with a vigilance committee, charged with the preservation of public order, and the expurgation from the community of northern abolitionists. This is particularly the case with the travelling agents of northern manufacturers and merchants, who, in consequence of the prevailing excitement, are looked upon with great suspicion. In confirmation of the above, intelligence had been received of a shocking case of lynching in Columbia, South Carolina. James Power, a stonecutter, and a native of Ireland, with a number of other men of his trade of different nationalities, was employed

in the construction of the new State House of Columbia, when the pro-slavery committee of vigilance of the said town got wind of some remarks of Power of an abolition character. The results were an unsuccessful attempt of Power to escape, his capture, the infliction of twenty-nine lashes upon his bare back, after which he was served with a coat of tar and feathers, and in this condition sent down by railroad to Charleston, where he was conducted to prison, and thence, after a confinement of several days, shipped to New York. There is very little doubt that the whole South is in a state of great alarm, as may be judged of by the measures which the several States are passing, for the expulsion or the enslavement of the coloured people.

A Bill, banishing free negroes from the State of Missouri, has passed both Houses, and came into operation on the 11th ultimo.

The first section prohibits the emancipation of a slave, unless the master gives bond, with sureties, to move the slave out of the State within ninety days.

Sec. 3. dooms to Slavery every free negro who shall be a resident of the State after September 1861, and over thirteen years of age.

Sec. 4. requires the Sheriff to bring every such negro before a magistrate, who, on proof of his freedom, gives the Sheriff a certificate, who thereupon must proceed to sell the free negro at auction.

Sec. 5. The purchaser to have the same rights to the negro as if he had always been a slave.

Sec. 7. The proceeds to be paid into the County Treasury.

Sec. 8. The Sheriff to notify free negroes before September 1860 of the Act.

Sec. 9. Free negroes, under eighteen, after September 1860, to be bound out as apprentices until twenty-one, by the County Court, and allowed twelve months after that time to leave the State.

Sec. 11. Should such free negro be found in the State after that time, he shall be sold as provided in Section 4.

Sec. 15, punishes the officer who neglects his duty.

Sec. 17. Any free negro who comes into the State, and remains in it twelve hours, is subject to be sold as a slave.

The slaveowners of Missouri are sending their slaves South as fast as possible: thirty-four recently left St. Louis on one steamer for Nashville, Tenn.

A similar Bill to the one passed by the Missouri Legislature to enslave all free negroes found in Mississippi on the first of July next, has passed the Lower House of the Legislature of that State, with only five



votes against it, and will undoubtedly become law. The money is to go into the school fund.

The Legislature of Georgia has also passed a law providing that free negroes, wandering or strolling about, or leading an idle, immoral, or profligate course of life, shall be sold into slavery for a period not exceeding two years for the first offence; but upon conviction of a second offence, into perpetual Slavery; and the Supreme Court of Ohio has decided that coloured children cannot be admitted into the common schools of that State.

A despatch from Columbia, dated 19th December, says that both Houses have adopted a resolution that South Carolina owes it to her own citizens to protect them and their property from every enemy, and that, for the purpose of military preparation for any emergency, the sum of 100,000 dollars be appropriated. The Senate has also adopted a resolution, that while still deferring to her Southern sisters, she respectfully announces to them, that in her judgment the safety and honour of the slaveholding States imperatively demand a speedy separation from the free-soil States of the Confederacy, and earnestly invites and urges her sister States of the South to originate the movement of Southern separation, in which she pledges herself to unite.

The Committee of Arrangements of the Philadelphia State Union Meeting had received a letter from Governor Wise, acknowledging the reception of the proceedings of the Union Meeting from that city. He says—"Your State, in the late disturbance, has acted the part of a sister State. We rely upon her loyalty to conservative principles as they are embodied in the Constitution of the Union, and are assured that the mass of her citizens would be our brethren in arms against wrongs to either Commonwealth. I will invite the Legislature of Virginia now in session to take an order upon the presentation of a flag, which I pray may be a sign of our union for ever.

The State of Arkansas has passed a law to banish all free negroes from its bounds, and it came into effect on the 1st day of January ultimo. Every free negro found there after that date will be liable to be sold into Slavery, the crime of freedom being unpardonable. Forty free negroes, who had been expelled from the State under the terms of the enactment, arrived at Cincinnati on the 3rd ult., in a destitute condition. They were met by a committee appointed for the purpose by the coloured population of Cincinnati. It was reported that the upward-bound boats on the Mississippi river were crowded with these fugitives, flying from their home. A meeting had been held in Cincinnati to devise means of aiding twelve families ex-

pelled from Kentucky in consequence of anti-slavery views.

A memorial is in circulation in Maryland, the prayer of which is, that the Legislature do pass laws enslaving all free negroes for life to the citizens of the State, to be accompanied by an exemption from sale under execution for debt; and that a strong military police for each election district in the State may be appointed to execute and enforce all laws upon this subject, and the slave laws of that State; also that a universal pass system may be adopted.

In the Baltimore House of Delegates a resolution, introduced by a Mr. Freaner, had been adopted, which is to the effect, that John Sherman, or any other black republican, shall not be elected speaker, and that if any member from Maryland vote for him, or any such exceptionable candidate, he would forfeit the respect and confidence of the people of the State.

The Bill for the prohibition of Slavery in Nebraska, which passed the lower branch of their Territorial Legislature by a vote of twenty-one to seventeen, has been defeated in the Council by a vote of seven to six. There are no more than half a dozen slaves in the Territory, and these are all house servants.

Gerrit Smith is so nearly restored to health, that he has returned to his home at Peterborough. It is reported that he will probably visit Europe.

Henry Ward Beecher states, that in the American edition of Mr. Spurgeon's sermons, his sentiments on Slavery, contained in the English editions, have been suppressed. The *Independent* adds, that a friend who has compared the English and American editions assures the Editor that it is true.

The Prudential Committee of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* announce, that in consequence of the Rev. Dr. Pomroy, one of its Secretaries, being implicated in matters affecting his moral character, he has resigned his office and is no longer connected with the Board.

WEST INDIES.—The mails bring no item of intelligence worth recording, save the report of an interesting and most important discussion which took place on the 22d of December, raised by a proposition made by Governor Wodehouse, of British Guiana, to throw upon the planters the whole cost of introducing Coolie immigrants into that colony. The limited space at our command this month prevents us from giving even an abstract of this interesting discussion, but we shall insert it at length in our next issue. Governor Wodehouse declares that his new proposal is only the logical application of the principles he has ever insisted upon, namely,

that the planter who asks for immigrant labour should defray its entire cost, and that, while the sum of 876,000*l.* for immigration had been expended from the year 1841 to 1858, the planter had paid only 164,000*l.* towards it, leaving the colony to sustain the remainder, or 712,000*l.* He added, that the planters ought to accede to the proposal, and thus enable the Colonial Minister to meet the objections which the *Anti-Slavery Society* urges against the continuance of immigration upon the present plan. The proposal was opposed, but the Governor said he should take time to consider whether the circulars to planters, asking them how many Coolies they require for the coming year, should be issued in the ordinary form, or whether he should ask the planters to take Coolies on the conditions he had suggested.

#### WHITE SLAVES IN BRAZIL.

WE were under the impression that the German immigration into Brazil, which has been going on for some years, and which we were hopefully looking to, as a means of superseding the employment of slave-labour in that country, was one entirely free, and advantageous alike to the planters and to the immigrants. A recent number of the *Daily Telegraph*, however, contains a letter from Berlin, which throws a very different light upon this important subject. We leave the letter to speak for itself, but if the statements set forth in it are correct, there is little doubt of the existence in Brazil of a considerable white population being held in bondage, whose condition is equally as unfortunate as that of the negroes.

"The Prussian Government have recently adopted a measure, which, as it bears directly upon the influx of German emigrants into Canada and Australia, I beg you will permit me to enlarge upon in a few lines.

"Some of your readers must be aware of the immense proportions which German emigration has assumed during the last ten years. It has been computed that since the beginning of 1848 no fewer than two millions of Germans have expatriated themselves, to seek a new home on the other side of the ocean. The majority wended their way to the United States, Australia exercising, at the same time, a fair amount of attraction. Canada, however, was almost out of the question, as those not bent upon incorporation with the citizens of the great republic of North America, or upon settlement in Australia, generally found themselves enticed away from all other quarters by the brilliant promises of the great proprietors of Brazil.

"Indeed, no quarter of the globe seemed to offer such alluring prospects to the intending emigrant as the one proposed to him by the ever busy agents from the country just named. No matter how poor he might be, they undertook to convey him to his destination free of all charge and expense. Once arrived there, no matter how

ignorant of the language, manners, and customs of the country, the same benevolent guides still held out to him their protecting hand. They told him how to set to work, and found him a sure market for his labour. They taught him Brazilian agriculture, endowed him with plantations—his own as soon as he was sufficiently conversant with the art of turning them into account; and, in short, in ten years or so, made a Brazilian proprietor out of a landless German peasant.

"Such, at least, was the Utopia which the Brazilian kidnappers represented to the German emigrants before they had determined to leave their native land; such were the tempting baits by which thousands of ignorant and inexperienced people were decoyed to their destruction. On their arrival in Brazil the stern reality was not long in breaking upon the minds of the poor victims. The contract which they had been obliged to sign before leaving Germany contained, as they speedily discovered to their sorrow, a few provisions, the working of which nullified the brighter portion of the agreement. In the first place, they had bound themselves to redeem, by their labour, the passage-money and other advances made to them; secondly, they had become answerable, not only for themselves individually, but each man was held responsible for the obligations of the whole batch with which he had emigrated. One day's sickness of one man needed one day's labour to all the rest, and the death of one was equivalent to the addition of a year or two's work for the survivors. It so turned out that, as coffee planting in a tropical country is a most unhealthy kind of employment for an European, half, or two-thirds, of every batch died in two or three years after their arrival in the country, leaving the rest bound down to the soil in hopeless Slavery for the next fifteen years or so, the end of which time found no man alive to work out his liberation. The gist of the Brazilian contracts, then, was to render the German emigrants slaves for life, and, perhaps, for the sake of alleviation, to curtail that life as much as possible by conditions under which it was impossible to exist.

"The atrocity of the system was aggravated by an uncommon degree of mendacity and perfidy on the part of its originators. After a few hundred emigrants had gone over, rumours could not fail to spread abroad as to the undesirable nature—to say the least of it—of the scheme. Gradually the rumours grew into authenticated reports. The German Press then took upon itself to propagate the intelligence, to spread information concerning the real state of things in Brazil, and to warn people against the wiles and snares of the decoy agents. But the latter were not idle in the meanwhile. By imposing upon the editors of the minor and country papers—those public journals that found circulation among the very class they wished to entice—the emissaries of the Brazilian proprietors succeeded in gaining, year after year, the services of a few thousand wretched beings, whose hands, and not their brains, were their fortunes. In vain did the more respectable part of the Press persist in its crusade against this shameless traffic in white men; in vain did Herr Sturz, the Brazilian Consul-



General at Berlin, and himself a German, throw up in disgust his office, for which, from his long sojourn in the realm of Don Pedro, and his intimate acquaintance with emigration matters, he was eminently fitted. The agents, with the assiduity of moles busily engaged in their underground work, went on in the usual way, and, as at the commencement of this unholy trade, secured their end, regardless of all right principle.

"Things, in the course of time, reached such a pass, that the Prussian Government found it necessary to interpose an official *veto* between the agents and their victims. By a royal order, published a few weeks ago, the agents, officially authorized for the conclusion of Brazilian contracts in Prussia and Germany, are prohibited from continuing their business, so far as Prussian subjects are concerned. As it is hoped that the measure will be followed up by the governments of the Zollverein, the slave-dealers will probably find themselves before long cut off from the most prolific fields of their operations. To stop emigration to Brazil altogether is of course impossible, as the influence of the secret emissaries upon the misguided people cannot be suppressed. However, a step in the right direction has been taken, as the abolition of authorized agencies cannot but awaken feelings of suspicion as to the soundness of the system.

"This development of the Brazilian emigration scheme is not at all unconnected with the interests of England. There is a large surplus of population in Germany desirous of acquiring territorial rights, and a more prosperous position in society than they can ever hope to attain in the old country. Many amongst these people cherish a native and well-grounded dislike to the United States as their home. From monarchical predilections, as well as from a feeling of industrial inferiority when brought side by side with the 'cute population of Yankeeland, people of this class would infinitely prefer settling in a British colony, and in the midst of a race more sedate in their habits and less overreaching in their business capacity. Once in the country, they would, from the very motives which led them there, form a most valuable population in a colony which it is so desirable for Great Britain to develop. I need only further say upon this subject, that, like the able author of 'Sam Slick,' I wish British dominion in Canadamay be prolonged for many a century to come.

"As your paper seems always to be particularly interested in the cause of Canadian emigration, it is, perhaps, not altogether out of place for me to add, that if Germans, of the class alluded to, were allowed some reasonable degree of encouragement, they would probably find it practicable to realise their desires with respect to the acquisition of a new home in the sparsely-populated districts of Toronto, Ottawa, and many other settlements."

#### THE FUGITIVE SLAVE AND THE IMMOVEABLE FREEMAN.

SOME days prior to the 12th of September 1858, having to be in Oberlin (Ohio), on a

visit, Mr. C. H. Langston, a free man of colour, found the country round about, and the village itself, filled with alarming rumours as to the fact that slave-catchers, kidnappers, and negro-stealers, were lying hidden and skulking about, waiting an opportunity to lay their inhuman hands on some helpless coloured creature, and drag him into bondage, without any strict regard to the consideration whether or not he was a fugitive slave or legally free. On the 13th they had their reward: a negro fell into the toils of the hunters, and the "heather was on fire." Mr. Langston was drawn into the excitement, and took side with the captured chattel; for which offence he stood at the bar of the United States' District Court at Cleveland, on the 12th of May last, for judgment. The Court, however, before sentence, "beckoned unto him to speak;" and he exercised his privilege boldly and well.

"There is not," said this eloquent man of colour, "in this wide country—not even by the altars of God, nor in the shadows of the shafts [monumental columns] that tell the imperishable fame and glory of the heroes of the Revolution—no, nor in the old Philadelphia Hall—where any coloured man may dare to ask mercy of the white man. Let me stand in that hall, and tell a United States' Marshal that my father was a Revolutionary soldier; that he served under Lafayette, and fought through the whole war, and that he fought for my freedom as much as for his own; and he would sneer at me, and clutch me with his bloody fingers, and say he has a right to make me a slave. And when I appeal to Congress, they say he has a right to make me a slave; and when I appeal to the people, they say he has a right to make me a slave; and when I appeal to your Honour, your Honour says he has a right to make me a slave; and if any man, white or black, seeks an investigation of that claim, he makes himself amenable to the pains and penalties of the Fugitive Slave Act; for black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect. I, with the full knowledge of all this, knew that if that man were taken to Columbus he was hopelessly gone, no matter whether he had ever been in Slavery before, or not."

Langston cited cases of the seizure and enslavement of free men, and averred that, at the moment he was then speaking, "a young lady, formerly under his instruction at Columbus," was lying in the gaol at that place, "claimed as the slave of some wretch who had never seen her before."

"In view of all these facts," continued the prisoner, "I say that, if ever again a man is seized near me, and is about to be carried Southward as a slave, before any legal investigation has been held, I shall hold it to be my duty, as I held it that day, to secure for him, if possible, a legal inquiry into the character of the claim by which he is held. And I go further: I say, if it is adjudged illegal to procure even such an investigation, then we are thrown back upon those last defences of our rights which cannot be taken



from us, and which God gave us that we need not be slaves. I stand here to say that I will do all I can for any man thus seized and held. We have all a common humanity, and you would all do that. Your manhood would require it; and no matter what the law might be, you would honour yourself for doing it, while your friends and your children, to all generations, would honour you for doing it; and every good and honest man would say you had done right."

The Court, while fining Langston 100 dollars, and imprisoning him twenty days, did so with a compliment to the culprit and an apology for the law. "The prisoner," said his Honour, "had quietly counselled a resort to legal measures, rather than to force, for getting possession of the fugitive;" but "the Court did not make the laws:" it merely found them on the Statute Book, and was bound to "enforce them." And so the prisoner departed to his cell with commendations; and "the law," not he, was convicted and condemned.

From this recent outrage under the Fugitive Slave Act—an Act which is itself an outrage on humanity—let us turn to a more distant, though not very remote, illustration of American Slavery.

The American Journal in which we find the noble address of Mr. Langston, is the *Free South*, published at Newport, in the Slave State of Kentucky (the State in which the premises of Mr. Cassius M. Clay were destroyed by a brutal mob, and his paper suppressed, never again to appear—the sacrifice to Slavery being successful and complete). The *Free South* bears the name of "William S. Bailey," as its "editor and proprietor;" and the name may revive the remembrance (in some, at least, of our readers) of an attempt which was made, within the last one or two years, to expose this man's enterprise to the same fate which befel Mr. Cassius Clay's. A gang of bravoes, hounded upon by the slaveholding interest, made a furious assault upon his office, and were courageously repulsed. Mr. Bailey's family, (which is not small,) and his workmen, (numbering in all about one-half the besieging force,) fought valiantly with the assailants, and gave them such a thorough drubbing, that never afterwards was the *Free South* attacked by open violence. But the torch of the incendiary (we derive our tale, let us frankly confess, from anti-slavery sources) accomplished what force of arms had failed to achieve. The printing-office and machine-room, and also Mr. Bailey's smithy, were burnt down at midnight; and a less resolute man would have shaken the dust from his feet, and crossed the line which divides the free soil from the South. There is, however, a strong dash of the enthusiast in Mr. Bailey. His sober conviction, moreover, is, that one word spoken for freedom in the South, is

worth a hundred uttered in the North; and he scorned to fly. He rebuilt his premises, refurnished his printing-office, and carries on his *Free South* as bravely as before; coercing the respect, if he cannot win the affections, of the slaveholding foe. His sons and daughters, by birth and by marriage, are his printers; and, struggling under the pecuniary burdens inflicted upon him by the incendiaries, this unquailing mechanic (for such he is) holds on his courageous course. Some help has reached him from his own countrymen; some, also, from ours; and an effort is in progress (may it be crowned with complete success!) to extinguish his obligations, and set him entirely free.

There is a fine vein of romance in the history of this heroic man; erecting his abolition press in a Slave State; sustaining and defeating hired besiegers; broken, but not cast down, by fire; rising undaunted from the ashes of his home; and, with his congenial household, waging undying war with Slavery. When that Slavery—the "peculiar institution" of the United States—shall become (as become it will) historical; when the flag of the Republic shall wave over a people that is wholly and entirely free; when the story of American Slavery shall be told by the historians of a future age; not the remembrance of all the wealth and power of the planters, nor the courtesy and chivalry of which their flatterers boast, nor the defiant bearing or eloquent advocacy of their champions in the Legislature, shall save them from the righteous verdict of free and impartial pens. Not to the slaveholder, but to the slave, will the poet and the historian give their sympathies; not to the slavecatchers and the incendiaries, but to the Langstons and the Baileys of the long and painful conflict for freedom, and to those who, on this or the other shore of the Atlantic Ocean, have lent succour and support to the warriors in the long-protracted but finally-victorious fight. —*Gateshead Observer*.

---

#### COTTON FROM THE WEST-INDIES.

WE insert the subjoined, in the hope that it may attract the attention of those who are interested in extending the field for the growth of free-labour cotton.

"Lochhead House, near Aberdeen,

"24th January 1860.

"DEAR SIR,

"Recent events in America have, among the slaveholders there, stirred up a spirit of furious rage against all the friends of freedom. But all their blustering cannot blot out the Harper's Ferry affair, and the death of Brown and his associates, from the history of American Slavery. They have killed the noble old man,

but his rash and unsuccessful attempt to liberate the slaves will not be without its effect; and who can predict what that effect may be?

"Meanwhile, it has occurred to me—and it is this which has led me to write to you at present—that our creole labourers in the West-Indies, and especially in British Guiana, where there is so much available land, might greatly help the cause of human freedom, and at the same time, materially benefit themselves, by becoming growers of cotton for the English Market; and that, while I am in this country, I should try to obtain whatever information I can with a view to advise and encourage them in that matter on my return to Demerara.

"Many of our people possess land of their own, very large portions of which are allowed to lie unproductive for years. After a few crops of plantains and ground provisions—the only kind of produce of which the labourers think, with very few exceptions—the land 'gives out,' as they say, and requires to rest for a while. At least this is the case on lands lying up our rivers and canals; and they have never been accustomed to apply manure to the land: they let it rest.

"I happen to have with me a small quantity of cotton which was put about some articles I brought home with me, to keep them from injury. I enclose a small portion of it, that you, if you have any opportunity, may shew it to any person who is a judge of its quality, and perhaps ascertain what it would be worth per pound. I am no judge of it, but I think I have seen much better than that in Demerara; and no doubt the quality would be improved if greater attention were paid to the cultivation of the plant. Seed dropped in any where, unless among rank weeds, readily springs up, comes to maturity without any care, and continues to grow and bear for I know not how many years. I have seen them become quite large, spreading bushes—in fact, trees. And if the people were induced to try the cultivation of cotton, a supply of good seed of approved kinds might be procured.

"I would like to see some of the machines for cleaning and pressing, &c., that I might have some idea of these operations; and if you can inform me where I might see them I would feel obliged.

"I expect to return to my station about the middle of March, and the circumstance of my having been in this country may have a good effect, in relation to any thing I may have to say to the people, of the great interest which 'our friends in England' feel in the cultivation of cotton in the West Indies. It is a subject to which the attention of the people at all our rural settlements might be directed with advantage. Large proprietors in Guiana will not trouble themselves about cotton, while sugar yields so profitable a return. But hundreds of acres of land, belonging to the people, are lying unpro-

ductive, which, if the owners could be induced to plant with cotton, might be brought under profitable cultivation.

"I am not aware whether or not the crop be a precarious one, never having seen cotton raised to any considerable extent. It is my intention, however, if spared, to return to Demerara, to try it on two or three acres of land connected with my own station.

"I would feel thankful for any information, on the subject of this communication which you may be able to give me.

"I am, &c.,

"CHARLES RATTRAY,

"L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, &c."

#### THE REV. DR. CHEEVER'S APPEAL.

IN order to enable the anti-slavery public to form its own opinion, on the subject of the controversy which has arisen out of the visit of Miss Johnstone to this country, and her appeal on behalf of the Rev. Dr. Cheever, we submit extracts from the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, which will place the question in a proper light.

##### EXTRACTS.

"CHURCH OF THE PURITANS.—At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Church of the Puritans, held Monday evening, 14th Nov. 1859, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas this Board learn, through the public prints, that a Miss Johnstone has made appeals to the people of Great Britain for funds to sustain the Church of the Puritans; and it appears by a letter of the pastor of the Church addressed to the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, of England, that he (the pastor) and some individuals have authorized Miss Johnstone to collect money in Great Britain for this purpose;

"And whereas, in the opinion of this Board, such an appeal is contrary to the best interests of the Church and Society, and calculated to injure them in the estimation of the Christian public, since the contributions sought are for the purpose of meeting the ordinary expenses of worship, which rightly belong to the congregation to pay;

"Resolved, therefore, That this Board disavow all responsibility for the acts of Miss Johnstone as authorized by the Society or its Trustees."

The *Standard* has the following comments upon this prohibition:

"It should be known that the Board of Trustees is composed in part of opponents of Dr. Cheever, who, while they have ceased to worship in the Church of the Puritans, yet retain their connection with the Board; and these enemies in the camp, taking advantage of the storm created by the publication of Dr. Cheever's letter to Mr. Spurgeon, and operating upon the weakness of other members, contrived to pass the resolution in question. Their triumph, however, was of short duration, for the Church itself, on Monday evening last, (20th November,) after listening to



an explanatory statement from the members who had, on their own responsibility, made application for foreign aid, and after hearing all that the opponents of the Doctor could say in condemnation of his course, almost unanimously adopted the following resolutions:

"Whereas neither the Church as a body, nor the majority of its members, nor the Trustees of the Society, were consulted previous to the application made in March last by certain brethren of the Church to British Christians for pecuniary aid, it is manifest that none can be held responsible for the matter or the manner of that appeal but the individuals who made it, and who are now quite willing to bear that responsibility; but,

"Whereas some of the wealthiest men of the Church and others have entirely withdrawn their support from the ordinary expenses of the Society, while some of the Trustees, men of ability and sagacity, now openly declare their opinion that the Church and Society cannot be sustained;

"Resolved, That we, the Church of the Puritans, assembled for this purpose by public notice from the pulpit, do hereby declare our full conviction of the propriety and necessity of such an appeal for aid.

"Resolved, That the document, read in this Church, signed by the brethren who authorized that appeal to the British Christians, for pecuniary aid, entirely exonerates those brethren from all blame in the premises, and is hereby declared to be the deliberate judgment of the Church as to the present condition of the Society, and a truthful statement of the several steps by which that condition has been reached.

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, with the documents above named, be forwarded to Rev. Dr. Candlish, of Edinburgh, and Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, of London."

"We assure the friends of the anti-slavery cause in Great Britain that Dr. Cheever has in no respect exaggerated the complicity of the American Church and Ministry with the sin of Slavery. The statements of *The Independent* on this subject are deceptive and fraudulent, and wholly unworthy of credit. Dr. Thompson and Dr. Bacon, the principal editors of that sheet, are the deadly enemies of uncompromising anti-slavery, and hardly any other event that could possibly happen would please them so well as the expulsion of Dr. Cheever from his pulpit. Dr. Bacon, in the early days of the anti-slavery movement, was one of its bitterest maligners, a champion of colonization and an inciter of mobs. Though compelled, by the pressure of public opinion, to change his ground and to make professions of hostility to Slavery, his breast is not cleansed of the old malignity against the champions of the cause. Dr. Thompson is a trimmer by nature, and anti-slavery only so far as is necessary to promote his schemes of clerical ambition. He has no standing whatever as an abolitionist, though he has sometimes preached a sort of anti-slavery-made-easy, which did not much disturb pro-slavery men, while it served to blind the eyes of some well-meaning but only half-converted opponents of Slavery. It was he who accepted the compromise by which it was pro-

posed that the *Tract Society* should remain silent as to the sin of Slavery itself, and only 'fraternally discuss' the evils it was 'known to promote.' He has always been an apologist of the *American Board*, notwithstanding its endorsement of Slavery by the admission of slaveholders to the Mission Churches.

"There is another circumstance which serves to mark the quality of Dr. Thompson's anti-slavery, which friends of the cause in Great Britain will know how to appreciate. Let them know, that in the church where he preaches the principle of caste is rigidly maintained, not without his connivance. Every coloured person who enters that church to worship, whatever his character, and however intelligent and refined he may be, is consigned, in deference to the prejudices of white evangelical worshippers, to the 'nigger pews.' A gentleman of our acquaintance, a member of a Congregational Church, and highly esteemed for piety and moral worth, assures us that he saw a respectable coloured man, on the day that Dr. Thompson's new house of worship was dedicated, taken out by force, lest his presence should give offence to wealthy and fashionable white people, who, it was hoped, might buy or rent seats. Let this fact be proclaimed to the honest abolitionists of Great Britain, and Dr. Cheever will have no reason to fear any influence that Dr. Thompson or *The Independent* can exert against him in that country."

On the subject of the negro-pew, we must call the attention of our readers to the letter from the Landdrost, J. J. Rochussen, whose black servant was obliged to quit the pew he had taken in the Rev. Dr. Cheever's church.

#### THE LATE MR. JOSEPH STURGE.

IN addition to the testimony we have already published to the virtues of the late lamented Joseph Sturge, we find the following from the graceful pen of "Grace Greenwood," a well-known American authoress.

"I have been much grieved to hear, by a late steamer, of the sudden death of Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham. Two or three weeks of my first summer in England were spent at his house, and, by his bountiful hospitality and thoughtful, delicate kindness, he added the warm sentiment of personal attachment to the reverence and admiration I had long felt for him.

"Mr. Sturge was a true Quaker, after the order of Fox—a friend, not alone like too many of the straiter sort, of and with his sect, but toward all mankind—the whole, wide-varying family of God.

"I suppose there was not in the world a man of more active and wide-spread benevolence. From the narrow door-way of his most unpretending home flowed silently and incessantly forth a flood of loving beneficence, such as never yet poured through the wide and stately portals of a palace, on the world of suffering and want, which ever lies like an arid and melancholy waste



around the fairy lands of fortune and pleasure, the green oases of happiness and ease.

"Possessed of an immense fortune, acquired in honest trade, he lived in the utmost simplicity, allowing himself and his household no expensive luxuries, and giving away in charity, year after year, every surplus pound of his great income.

"Most unostentatious was he in manner, and gentle in speech. The grave never shut over a more serene and loveable face than his. Heaven looked out of it—it bloomed with the blossoming of a pure and beautiful spirit. It was touched in many of its lines with womanly grace and tenderness—it had in it all the innocence, peace, and trustfulness of happy childhood. It was a face that ever shone into those dwellings of want and care like a star of hope, tender and benign. The poor always looked for it with longing, and looked after it with blessings.

"Oh, what a bitter rain of tears must now be falling on the turf which hides that face from human sight for ever! falling from sad eyes which never more may look to him for help or comfort.

"It was marvellous to me to see how, after long years spent in toiling and planning for the unfortunate and the incapable—in giving, giving, giving often to unworthy objects, and with the most unthankful and disheartening returns, he was still fresh, humble, and hopeful, in that divine spirit of charity, which 'suffereth long and is kind'—which 'vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up'—which 'believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.'

"He truly abounded in good works, and in his exhaustless sympathies, his all comprehending compassion and love, he seemed—I speak it with reverence—absolutely Christ-like.

"Oh, it seems to me that his gentle and benignant spirit must even now be yearning over his forlorn flock of earthly beneficiaries—must be seeking to inspire other souls to take up the great divine work which the sudden death-shock shook from his faithful hands, the work by which he blessed, and was blessed.

"How distinctly rises before me now the pleasant, kindly face of the beloved old man—the clear blue eyes beaming with a welcoming smile, the smooth white forehead, the soft brown hair, silver-touched with only an added beauty, the ruddy cheeks, the sweet, tremulous mouth. I can see him at table with his young wife and his happy group of children; or out on the lawn, among the flowers and pets—for dearly did he love flowers and all God's innocent creatures.

"He had great delight in ministering to the happiness of the little folk. While I was at his house he took several hundred children, mostly of the poorer class, on an excursion to Nottingham. Such things he was doing constantly; they were not the events, but the daily natural occurrences of his life. Because every now and then he rained divine charities in a great bounteous shower, he did not withhold the dews of human kindness from the world around him. There is such a thing as neglecting the 'tithes of mint and cummin' while attending to the 'weightier matters of the law.' This was

surely not his fault. Amid his vast enterprises of benevolence, he thought no good work too small for him to engage in—no grief or wrong too insignificant for his notice—no opportunity to gladden or lighten a human heart to be despised. I suppose it were impossible for any save the angels to trace the thousand channels by which his love and pity found its way to the poor, the sick, and the oppressed—through which the 'waters of life,' welling up perpetually in his soul, reached the parched and fainting lips of weariness and pain.

"He was a happy man, because of a perfectly healthy and even temperament, a natural and obedient life, a beautiful faith, and the means he enjoyed for aiding the helpless and ministering to the suffering. Yet his great heart often grieved over the mighty sorrows he could do nothing to alleviate, and his serene spirit was sometimes disquieted within him, by the monster evils which oppress the world, banish happiness from millions of the human family, and bar out Christ from more than half of his rightful heritage. His love for children rendered him painfully alive to the fearful want and privation, the forced ignorance and crime of the children of the lowest classes in English towns and cities. Hence his earnest advocacy of reform schools, and his labours and sacrifices in their behalf.

"How many poor children will weep for him who first lifted them from misery and vice, and told them of a God of love and mercy—proving his words by his deeds. And they will pray to that God, to send them another such friend, and almost despair while they pray.

"Mr. Sturge had a peculiar horror of war, and of the disasters, crimes and sufferings which it brings in its train. He felt that the world was always worse, never better, for its fearful baptisms of blood and tears. It was this which caused him to undertake that expedition of Christian Quixotism to the Court of the Emperor of Russia, in the beginning of the Crimean war.

"We know that his mild remonstrance did not prevent or arrest the fighting, and the slaughter by pestilence and the sword. Nicholas was not a man to be turned from his purpose by any human argument or persuasion. Had a host of angels even descended before his army to stay its advance, he was almost capable of ordering his Cossacks to charge on them. Yet he received Mr. Sturge and his confreres most courteously, and listened to them with great apparent attention and respect.

"I can imagine the English Friend, a man of small stature, standing in his quaint, simple costume, in the splendid audience-chamber, before the grand, impassive, majestic figure, pleading in earnest and solemn words for peace—that 'peace and good will' which angels joyfully proclaimed over Judea, on the night when Heaven bowed to earth, in the gift of a Redeemer.

"I can but think that the kindly-entreating eyes of the Christian gentleman, as they met the cold, grey eyes of the Emperor, looked some momentary regret and relenting into his soul—that the gentle voice of remonstrance cleft his marble heart with a pang of human pain, for the deso-

lation of countless homes, the sorrows of widows and orphans soon to be. And it seems to me, that from the icy Alpine heights of his grandeur, he must have caught sight of a humbler and better life in the peaceful 'valley-land'—a life green with spontaneous virtues and simple joys, kept fresh by the flow of human sympathies, flowering with Christian graces, and bearing bounteous fruits of goodness and honour.

"This Quaker-intercession failed, and the war-mad 'world's people' laughed, when tears would have been more fit for many of them, to whom they came a little later, plentifully and very bitter—drowning in their hearts all thoughts of glory and pride of victory.

"This intercession failed, but afterwards the hero of peace took a glorious revenge, in 'The Conquest of Finland,' when he sailed triumphantly along its shores, carrying aid and comfort to the poor who had suffered privation and loss from the damage done by the gun-boats of the allied squadrons, building up the battered hamlets, feeding the starving, and clothing the naked.

"What voyage of bold adventurer, or pious crusader—what most heroic expedition of discoverer, ever equalled in moral grandeur this perilous winter cruise among the stormy north seas?—this divine mission of pity and succour, in the track of battle and the face of tempests?

"In Whittier's beautiful poem in honour of this characteristic enterprise of his noble friend, occurs this stanza:—

"God bless her!" said the coast-guard.  
"God bless the ship, I say,  
The holy angels trim the sails  
That speed her on her way."

"In that lone ship, beating its way through the chill brine of the Baltic, sailed one who once voyaged over the calm summer waves of Galilee and Geneseret. Christ the Lord was in the ship—and it almost seems that it must have left a wake of heavenly light on the dark, wintry sea.

"Clear and luminous yet, and long shall be, the tract through life of that loving and faithful soul which has passed beyond our horizon, sailed away to the morning land, and anchored in some pleasant port on the heavenly shore. God give the good ship rest!

"It seems fitting that Baron Humboldt and Joseph Sturge, the *savant* and the philanthropist, should depart at about the same time, though the former was much older than the latter, and the world had long been looking for his going, with reluctant expectation, while we hoped to keep our friend yet many years. Both were benefactors to the race; one through his brain, the other through his heart. One revealed the Creator through science, the other the Redeemer through works of love and mercy. One advanced the world through knowledge, the other left to mankind sublime examples of goodness and self-sacrifice. They were widely separated here, but it may be they will fraternize there." Adieu.

GRACE GREENWOOD

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1860.

### NOTICE.

WE beg to inform the Subscribers to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and likewise to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, that their Subscriptions are now due for the year 1860, and we shall feel obliged by the amount being remitted by Post-Office Order, made payable to L. A. Chamerovzow, at the Post Office, Bishopsgate Street Within, London, E. C.

### THE ELGIN SETTLEMENT, CANADA WEST.

THE material progress of the fugitive slaves in Canada must always be a subject of deep interest to philanthropists, especially to that section which is devoting its energies to the extinction of Slavery. Among the many efforts which are being made to prove, that under circumstances commonly favourable to the success of any body of emigrants, the coloured man can and does sustain himself, none are more deserving of encouragement than the one to which the Rev. W. King, the founder of the Elgin Settlement, Canada West, is devoting his life. We have, in previous Numbers, given a brief history of the origin and progress of this colony of fugitives, the nucleus of which was formed of a number of slaves which fell by inheritance to Mr. King, and whom he at once emancipated, and conveyed from Louisiana to Canada. He has struggled through difficulties that would have deterred any man not impressed by a lofty purpose of benevolence, until he has brought his work to the eve of complete success. But something remains to be done. A market is wanting for the raw produce of the lands on which the settlers are located, so as to keep them employed upon them. To promote this desirable end, and thus to give the finishing stroke to the great work of his life, the Rev. W. King has come to England, associated with A. M'Kellar, Esq., member of the Provincial Parliament, and we cannot do better than place our readers in possession of a few facts, which will enable them to judge for themselves of the importance of the mission of these two gentlemen, and which we condense from a prospectus they have issued. We sincerely wish them success, and hope that some whose eyes this statement may reach, will be induced to lend their aid in forwarding the object the Reverend

founder of the settlement and his worthy colleague have in view.

#### FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CANADA.

"The *Elgin Association* was incorporated by local Act of Parliament in 1850, when Lord Elgin was Governor of the province, for the purpose of improving the social and moral condition of the fugitive slaves in Canada, now numbering 30,000. To provide these with homes, 4000*l.* were raised in the province, in shares of 10*l.* each, and eighteen square miles of country were secured.

"This land was divided into farms of fifty acres each, and given to fugitives at a low rate, payable in ten years. On making certain improvements, they got a title to the land in fee simple. These lands are heavily covered with oak of a superior quality, white ash, and hickory, valued at 12,000*l.*, which must be burned and destroyed to get the lands cleared; but with a proper market, and a little capital to prepare the timber for sale, it could be made profitable to the settlers, their whole time would be usefully employed, and their labour given to the improvement of their own land. Now they are compelled to work out two or three months in the year, and very often cannot find employment. Their labour is lost to the improvement of their own farms; their families are neglected; and the prejudice which exists to a certain extent against coloured persons, is kept up as long as they are dependent on the white farmers for a part of their support. When the settlers first went into the woods they had no mills to grind their corn and wheat, or to prepare timber for building purposes. To meet this difficulty, Mr. King, the founder of the Elgin Settlement, at an expense to himself alone of 2500*l.*, erected an excellent steam saw and grist mill, a siding machine, and a shingle factory. These have been of great use, but unless they are kept running they cannot give constant employment to the settlers, the great object desired, and the money already expended will be in a great measure lost. It would require about 2000*l.* more to keep the mill stocked with saw logs, to cut and prepare them for market. With that sum the whole settlement could be kept profitably employed, at home their labour would be given to their own farms, and the valuable oak timber, now burned and destroyed, could be manufactured at the mill, and sent to the British market, where it can be readily sold at a price that will remunerate the settlers. The *Elgin Association*, anxious to develop the material resources of the settlement, have given authority to A. McKellar, Esq., M.P., a Director of the *Elgin Association*, to make arrangements, while in Scotland and England, for raising the sum necessary to complete the experiment amongst parties who feel an interest in the social improvement of the coloured race, and who would be willing to aid in carrying out the experiment at Buxton—of proving, by practical demonstration, what the coloured man can do in Canada.

"It is proposed to raise two thousand pounds, in shares of twenty-five pounds each, the whole to be repaid at the end of four years, the deposits bearing interest meanwhile at the rate of six per cent. per annum; each person being only responsible for the payment of his own shares;

one-half to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the other at the end of three months from that date, to W. MILLER, Esq., Merchant, 49, Fenchurch Street, the Agent in London."

#### MEETING TO PROMOTE THE ABOVE OBJECT.

"103, Victoria Street, Westminster, London,

"January 18th, 1860.

"At a meeting held at 103, Victoria Street, Westminster, for the purpose of obtaining information from ARCHIBALD M'KELLAR, Esq., M.P., and the Rev. WILLIAM KING, with regard to the settlement of fugitive slaves at Buxton, Canada West, and also for advancing the plan proposed for giving constant employment to the settlers, in order to keep them self-supporting, letters were read from the following gentlemen, who take an interest in the settlement, but were unable to attend the Meeting. We give the following extracts from the letters:

"The Right Honourable EARL SPENCER, who had visited the settlement in the autumn of 1857, and who, writing to the Rev. William King (from Althorp, Jan. 17th, 1860, says:

"'You may be assured, however, of my sincerest wishes for the welfare of your colony at Buxton. I always look back with great satisfaction and interest to what I saw under your guidance there in 1857. I shall be glad to take ten shares, if that will assist you.'

"JOHN PEARSON, Esq., Birkenhead, writes to Mr. King, Jan. 3d, 1860:

"MY DEAR SIR—

"'In answer to your letter of the 2d inst., I believe the plan proposed for giving employment to the fugitive slaves at Buxton is feasible and practicable. The oak, ash, and hickory growing on the lands are of a superior quality, and will bring a good price, when brought either to the London or Liverpool market. Having visited the land myself, and brought some of the timber to the above markets, I can speak from experience of its quality, and the ready sale it obtains there. I will take a few shares of the stock proposed to be raised, as I know that the wants of the people require constant employment. Cutting and preparing the timber for the British market is the only way in which the fugitives can be profitably employed at present.'

"HENRY CHRISTY, Esq., 103, Victoria Street, Westminster, writes to the Rev. W. King, Jan. 18th, 1860:

"MY DEAR SIR—

"'I beg to assure you of my warm interest in the success of the Buxton Settlement—an interest which must be shewn by all who have had the opportunity of witnessing there your judicious and successful labours. I attach the highest value to them, and feel convinced that you have there, more nearly than has yet been done, solved the problem, whether the liberated black can be linked to habits of continuous self-supporting voluntary labour. To my mind, nothing can be more judicious or relevant than the means of relief suggested; and from what I can learn from those best able to judge of its commercial prospects, I feel no hesitation as to its success, in such hands as yourselves and the Elgin Com-



mittee, and you may put my name down for 100l. of the stock proposed to be raised.'

"The following letter from Messrs. CHURCHILL and SIM, Timber Merchants, 39, Old Broad Street, to Archibald M'Kellar, Esq., under date 17th January, 1860, expresses their opinion with regard to the wood in the settlement.

"DEAR SIR—

"We beg leave to state our opinion that the woods of the countries about the upper lakes of Canada, such as oak in the log, or converted into staves, walnut timber, and tulip, are all valuable, and will generally find a fair market in this country, particularly when greater care is bestowed upon the conversion of them than has been the case with the three or four cargoes we have already received from those districts, but even which have yielded satisfactory results to the shippers, as far as we have heard.

"We have given you, we think, all the explanations and details necessary for the better preparation of those valuable products, and shall feel greatly gratified if the information you may have gathered from us prove of benefit to the Society you so ably represent. &c. &c.'

"After hearing the statements of the Deputation, and reading the letters, the meeting united in expressing, not only their good wishes for the success of the plan proposed, but also their opinion that it was the only way likely to succeed practically in enabling the fugitives of the Buxton Settlement to continue self-supporting, the preparing and shipping the timber to England securing constant employment, and holding out every promise of being remunerative as a commercial undertaking.

"JOHN W. PROBYN,

*Secretary at the Meeting.*

"The following testimony from the Right Hon. EARL SPENCER, JOHN W. PROBYN, Esq., and HENRY CHRISTY, Esq., who visited the settlement in 1857, will shew the satisfactory progress that has been made by the settlers in supporting themselves:

"London, 19th January, 1860.

"TO REV. W. KING—

"DEAR SIR—

"We, the undersigned, having visited the settlement of fugitive slaves at Buxton, Canada West, in the autumn of 1857, can bear testimony, from personal inspection, to the able and judicious manner in which it is conducted under your superintendence, the industry of the settlers, and the success of the experiment there making, to shew by practical demonstration that the coloured man, when placed in favourable circumstances, is able and willing to support himself; and that, in our judgment, the plan now proposed for keeping the settlers at Buxton self-supporting, by giving them constant employment on their own farms in cutting and preparing timber for the British market, is worthy of the countenance and support of the philanthropist, and all who feel an interest in the social and moral improvement of a long-neglected and deeply-injured race.

"SPENCER,

"JOHN W. PROBYN,

"HENRY CHRISTY."

## PRESIDENT BUCHANAN'S MESSAGE.

WE subjoin a couple of extracts from President Buchanan's Annual Message, in which the questions of Slavery, the re-opening of the slave-trade, and the acquisition of Cuba, occupy a position of great prominence. It will be observed that the President concedes to the Southern Democracy, every thing it desires, save the re-opening of the African slave-trade, and that the obtaining of Cuba is still insisted upon as a settled point of the Federal policy.

\* \* \* \* \*

### SLAVERY.

"Whilst it is the duty of the President 'from time to time to give to Congress information of the state of the Union,' I shall not refer in detail to the recent sad and bloody occurrences at Harper's Ferry. Still, it is proper to observe that these events, however bad and cruel in themselves, derive their chief importance from the apprehension that they are but symptoms of an incurable disease in the public mind, which may break out in still more dangerous outrages, and terminate at last in an open war by the North, to abolish Slavery in the South. Whilst, for myself, I entertain no such apprehension, they ought to afford a solemn warning to us all to beware of the approach of danger. Our Union is a stake of such inestimable value as to demand our constant and watchful vigilance for its preservation. In this view, let me implore my countrymen, North and South, to cultivate the ancient feelings of mutual forbearance and goodwill towards each other, and strive to allay the demon spirit of sectional hatred and strife now alive in the land. This advice proceeds from the heart of an old public functionary, whose service commenced in the last generation, among the wise and conservative statesmen of that day, now nearly all passed away, and whose first and dearest earthly wish is to leave his country tranquil, prosperous, united, and powerful.

"We ought to reflect that in this age, and especially in this country, there is an incessant flux and reflux of public opinion. Questions which in their day assumed a most threatening aspect, have now nearly gone from the memory of men. They are 'volcanoes burnt out, and on the lava and ashes and squalid scorise of old eruptions grow the peaceful olive, the cheering vine, and the sustaining corn.' Such, in my opinion, will prove to be the fate of the present sectional excitement, should those who wisely seek to apply the remedy, continue always to confine their efforts within the pale of the Constitution. If this course be pursued, the existing agitation on the subject of domestic Slavery, like every thing human, will have its day, and give place to other and less threatening controversies. Public opinion in this country is all-powerful, and when it reaches a dangerous excess upon any question, the good sense of the people will furnish the corrective, and bring it back within safe limits. Still, to hasten this auspicious result, at the present crisis, we ought to remember that every rational creature must

be presumed to intend the natural consequences of his own teachings. Those who announce abstract doctrines subversive of the Constitution and the Union, must not be surprised should their heated partisans advance one step further, and attempt by violence to carry these doctrines into practical effect. In this view of the subject, it ought never to be forgotten that, however great may have been the political advantages resulting from the Union to every portion of our common country, these would all prove to be as nothing, should the time ever arrive when they cannot be enjoyed without serious danger to the personal safety of the people of fifteen members of the Confederacy. If the peace of the domestic fireside throughout these States should ever be invaded—if the mothers of families within this extensive region should not be able to retire to rest at night without suffering dreadful apprehensions of what may be their own fate and that of their children before the morning—it would be vain, to recount to such a people the political benefits which result to them from the Union. Self-preservation is the first instinct of nature; and therefore any state of society in which the sword is all the time suspended over the heads of the people, must at last become intolerable. But I indulge in no such gloomy forebodings. On the contrary, I firmly believe that the events at Harper's Ferry, by causing the people to pause and reflect upon the possible peril to their cherished institutions, will be the means, under Providence, of allaying the existing excitement, and preventing future outbreaks of a similar character. They will resolve that the Constitution and the Union shall not be endangered by rash counsels, knowing that, should 'the silver cord be loosed or the golden bowl be broken \* \* at the fountain,' human power could never reunite the scattered and hostile fragments.

"I cordially congratulate you upon the final settlement by the Supreme Court of the United States of the question of Slavery in the Territories, which had presented an aspect so truly formidable at the commencement of my administration. The right has been established of every citizen to take his property of any kind, including slaves, into the common Territories belonging equally to all the States of the Confederacy, and to have it protected there under the Federal Constitution. Neither Congress, nor a Territorial Legislature, nor any human power, has any authority to annul or impair this vested right. The supreme judicial tribunal of the country, which is a co-ordinate branch of the Government, has sanctioned and affirmed these principles of constitutional law, so manifestly just in themselves, and so well calculated to promote peace and harmony among the States. It is a striking proof of the sense of justice which is inherent in our people, that the property in slaves has never been disturbed, to my knowledge, in any of the Territories. Even throughout the late troubles in Kansas, there has not been any attempt, as I am credibly informed, to interfere, in a single instance, with the right of the master. Had any such attempt been made, the judiciary would doubtless have

afforded an adequate remedy. Should they fail to do this hereafter, it will then be time enough to strengthen their hands by further legislation. Had it been decided that either Congress or the Territorial Legislature possess the power to annul or impair the right to property in slaves, the evil would be intolerable. In the latter event, there would be a struggle for a majority of the members of the Legislature at each successive election, and the sacred rights of property held under the Federal Constitution would depend for the time being on the result. The agitation would thus be rendered incessant whilst the Territorial condition remained, and its baneful influence would keep alive a dangerous excitement among the people of the several States.

"Thus has the status of a Territory, during the intermediate period from its first settlement until it shall become a State, been irrevocably fixed by the final decision of the Supreme Court. Fortunate has this been for the prosperity of the Territories, as well as the tranquillity of the States. Now, emigrants from the North and the South, the East and the West, will meet in the Territories on a common platform, having brought with them that species of property best adapted, in their own opinion, to promote their welfare. From natural causes the Slavery question will in each case soon virtually settle itself; and before the Territory is prepared for admission as a State into the Union, this decision, one way or the other, will have been a foregone conclusion. Meanwhile, the settlement of the new Territory will proceed without serious interruption, and its progress and prosperity will not be endangered or retarded by violent political struggles.

"When, in the progress of events, the inhabitants of any Territory shall have reached the number required to form a State, they will then proceed, in a regular manner, and in the exercise of the rights of popular sovereignty, to form a Constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union. After this has been done, to employ the language of the Kansas and Nebraska Act, they 'shall be received into the Union with or without Slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission.' This sound principle has happily been recognised, in some form or other, by an almost unanimous vote of both houses of the last Congress.

#### THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

"All lawful means at my command have been employed, and shall continue to be employed, to execute the laws against the African Slave-trade. After a most careful and rigorous examination of our coasts, and a thorough investigation of the subject, we have not been able to discover that any slaves have been imported into the United States, except the cargo by the *Wanderer*, numbering between three and four hundred. Those engaged in this unlawful enterprise have been rigorously prosecuted, but not with as much success as their crimes have deserved. A number of them are still under prosecution.

"Our history proves that the Fathers of the Republic, in advance of all other nations, con-



demned the African slave-trade. It was, notwithstanding, deemed expedient by the framers of the Constitution to deprive Congress of the power to prohibit 'the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit' 'prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight.'

"It will be seen that this restriction on the power of Congress was confined to such States only as might think proper to admit the importation of slaves. It did not extend to other States or to the trade carried on abroad. Accordingly, we find that, so early as the 22d of March 1794, Congress passed an Act imposing severe penalties and punishments upon citizens and residents of the United States who should engage in this trade between foreign nations. The provisions of this Act were extended and enforced by the Act of 10th May 1800.

"Again: The States themselves had a clear right to waive the constitutional privilege intended for their benefit, and to prohibit, by their own laws, this trade at any time they thought proper previous to 1808. Several of them exercised this right before that period, and among them some containing the greatest number of slaves. This gave to Congress the immediate power to act in regard to all such States, because they themselves had removed the constitutional barrier. Congress accordingly, passed an Act on the 28th February 1803, 'to prevent the importation of certain persons into certain States where, by the laws thereof, their admission is prohibited.' In this manner the importation of African slaves into the United States was, to a great extent, prohibited some years in advance of 1808.

"As the year 1808 approached, Congress determined not to suffer this trade to exist even for a single day after they had the power to abolish it. On the 2d of March 1807, they passed an Act to take effect 'from and after the 1st day of January 1808,' prohibiting the importation of African slaves into the United States. This was followed by subsequent Acts of a similar character, to which I need not specially refer. Such were the principles and such the practice of our ancestors more than fifty years ago in regard to the African slave-trade.

"It did not occur to the revered patriots who had been delegates to the Convention, and afterwards became members of Congress, that, in passing these laws, they had violated the Constitution which they had framed with so much care and deliberation. They supposed that, to prohibit Congress, in express terms, from exercising a specified power before an appointed day, necessarily involved the right to exercise this power after that day had arrived.

"If this were not the case, the framers of the Constitution had expended much labour in vain. Had they imagined that Congress would possess no power to prohibit the trade either before or after 1808, they would not have taken so much care to protect the States against the exercise of this power before that period. Nay, more—they would not have attached such vast importance to this provision as to have ex-

cluded it from the possibility of future repeal or amendment, to which other portions of the Constitution were exposed. It would, then, have been wholly unnecessary to engraft on the fifth article of the Constitution, prescribing the mode of its own future amendment the proviso, 'that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect' the provision, the Constitution securing to the States the right to admit the importation of African slaves previous to that period.

"According to the adverse construction, the clause itself, on which so much care and discussion had been employed by the members of the Convention, was an absolute nullity from the beginning, and all that has since been done under it a mere usurpation.

"It was well and wise to confer this power on Congress, because, had it been left to the States its efficient exercise would have been impossible. In that event, any one State could have effectually continued the trade, not only for itself, but for all the other Slave States, though never so much against their will. And why? Because African slaves, when once brought within the limits of any one State, in accordance with its laws, cannot practically be excluded from any other State where Slavery exists. And even if all the States had separately passed laws prohibiting the importation of slaves, these laws would have failed of effect, for want of a naval force to capture the slavers and to guard the coasts. Such a force no State can employ in time of peace without the consent of Congress.

"These Acts of Congress, it is believed, have, with very rare and insignificant exceptions, accomplished their purpose. For a period of more than half a century, there has been no perceptible addition to the number of our domestic slaves. During this period their advancement in civilization has far surpassed that of any other portion of the African race. The light and the blessings of Christianity have been extended to them, and both their moral and physical condition has been greatly improved.

"Re-open the trade, and it would be difficult to determine whether the effect would be more deleterious on the interests of the master or on those of the native-born slave. Of the evils to the master, the one most to be dreaded would be the introduction of wild, heathen, and ignorant barbarians, among the sober, orderly and quiet slaves, whose ancestors have been on the soil for several generations. This might tend to barbarize, demoralize, and exasperate the whole mass, and produce most deplorable consequences.

"The effect upon the existing slave would, if possible, be still more deplorable. At present he is treated with kindness and humanity. He is well fed, well clothed, and not overworked. His condition is incomparably better than that of the Coolies which modern nations of high civilization have employed as a substitute for African slaves. Both the philanthropy and the self-interest of the master have combined to produce this humane result. But let this trade be re-opened, and what will be the effect? The



same, to a considerable extent, as on a neighbouring island—the only spot now on earth where the African slave-trade is openly tolerated; and this in defiance of solemn treaties with a Power abundantly able at any moment to enforce their execution. There the master, intent upon present gain, extorts from the slave as much labour as his physical powers are capable of enduring, knowing that, when death comes to his relief, his place can be supplied at a price reduced to the lowest point by the competition of rival African slave-traders. Should this ever be the case in our country—which I do not deem possible—the present useful character of the domestic institution, wherein those too old and too young to work are provided for with care and humanity, and those capable of labour are not over-tasked, would undergo an unfortunate change. The feeling of reciprocal dependence and attachment which now exists between master and slave would be converted into mutual distrust and hostility.

"But we are obliged as a Christian and moral nation to consider what would be the effect upon unhappy Africa itself if we should re-open the slave-trade. This would give the trade an impulse and extension which it has never had, even in its palmiest days. The numerous victims required to supply it would convert the whole slave coast into a perfect Pandemonium, for which this country would be held responsible in the eyes both of God and man. Its petty tribes would then be constantly engaged in predatory wars against each other for the purpose of seizing slaves to supply the American market. All hopes of African civilization would thus be ended.

"On the other hand, when a market for African slaves shall no longer be furnished in Cuba, and thus all the world be closed against this trade, we may then indulge a reasonable hope for the gradual improvement of Africa. The chief motive of war among the tribes will cease whenever there is no longer any demand for slaves. The resources of that fertile but miserable country might then be developed by the hand of industry, and afford subjects for legitimate foreign and domestic commerce. In this manner, Christianity and civilization may gradually penetrate the existing gloom.

#### THE ACQUISITION OF CUBA.

"In my last annual message I presented a statement of the unsatisfactory condition of our relations with Spain, and I regret to say that this has not materially improved. Without special reference to other claims, even the 'Cuban claims,' the payment of which has been ably urged by our ministers, and in which more than a hundred of our citizens are directly interested, remain unsatisfied, notwithstanding both their justice and their amount (128,635.54 dollars) had been recognised and ascertained by the Spanish Government itself.

"I again recommend that an appropriation be made, 'to be paid to the Spanish Government, for the purpose of distribution among the claimants in the Amistad case.' In common with two of my predecessors, I entertain no doubt that this is required by our treaty with Spain of the 27th October 1795. The failure to discharge

this obligation has been employed by the Cabinet of Madrid as a reason against the settlement of our claims.

"I need not repeat the arguments which I urged in my last annual message in favour of the acquisition of Cuba by fair purchase. My opinions on that measure remain unchanged. I therefore again invite the serious attention of Congress to this important subject. Without a recognition of this policy on their part, it will be almost impossible to institute negotiations with any reasonable prospect of success."

#### LABOUR IN THE WEST INDIES.

In our December Number we reprinted, from the *Leeds Mercury*, a brief leader introducing a letter on the West-India labour question, by Mr. Ernest Noel. That gentleman has since written two more, which we submit to our readers with the more pleasure, because they are the testimony of an unbiassed witness. The Mr. Trollope alluded to in the last letter, is a gentleman who paid a flying visit to the West Indies, and who, on his return to England, wrote a book, which is as pro-slavery in its sentiments and tendencies as though it had been penned by a slaveholder.

#### TO THE EDITORS OF "THE LEEDS MERCURY."

"GENTLEMEN,—In the letter I had the honour of addressing you a few days ago, I attempted to shew that the unwillingness of free negroes to work on the plantations was not the chief cause of the depressed state of the island of Jamaica. I propose to-day to consider the present condition of the island, in order that the public may more fully understand the difficulties connected with any attempt to restore its former prosperity, and to shew that the cost of labour in this colony is not so high as to prevent a profitable cultivation of the soil.

"Many American and other travellers landing at Kingston have found the means of communication so bad, and a journey through the island so difficult, that they have contented themselves with forming their opinion of Jamaica from that town and the country immediately adjacent. I need not say that the 'glory is departed' from Kingston, and the population is about the worst in the island. All the most idle and depraved are congregated there, and to judge of the free negro race from a stroll through the filthy streets and alleys of Kingston, would be as fair as to describe London after a half-hour's ramble through Spitalfields or St. Giles'.

"The estates immediately around Kingston are amongst the most unfortunate in the colony. Some should never have been tried as cane-land, and others have been abandoned from causes already mentioned. It is an undoubted fact, which must at once be acknowledged, that a very large part of the sugar-land in Jamaica is fast returning to 'bush.' I have attempted to account

for this, and at a future time may point out the possibility of bringing it once more into cultivation.

"But there still remains a considerable number of estates producing sugar. Some of these are slowly but steadily sinking into decay and ruin. The boiling-house is dilapidated; the labourers are irregular in their work; the land is badly cleared and poorly manured, yielding small crops, and returning nothing to the owners. The roads are out of repair, thus increasing the cost of transport, and the properties too small to support a proper managing establishment. It is a point not sufficiently known or appreciated in England, that small properties are often called to bear an expense of 630*l.* per annum for management, 500*l.* of which would be saved by a resident proprietor. Such an expense can easily be borne on large properties, but becomes a crushing incumbrance on small ones.

"Whilst we may, therefore, expect to hear that Jamaica proprietors are forced to sell or abandon more land, we may hope to find a new race of planters, who will enter on the cultivation of sugar with the same energy and success, with the same prudence and economy, that distinguishes the Anglo-Saxon race in every quarter of the globe. Some such there are already in Jamaica. It would be invidious to mention names, though any one connected with the island would at once acknowledge that such exist. In St. Ann's, which is chiefly a grazing country, and where you may see cattle that would do honour to the finest farms in England, I could point out some sugar estates in a highly flourishing condition; where I was told by the managers that they could readily obtain a supply of labour at reasonable wages, though doubtless at certain seasons, especially during the pimento-picking, they would be glad of more hands.

"An estate in that neighbourhood, which had gradually been sinking under the combined influences of debt and bad management, when placed under the direction of a competent and active attorney, immediately changed its aspect, and is now not only returning something to its proprietors in England, but is nearly free from debt, amounting, about five years ago, to more than 10,000*l.*

"In Westmoreland, in Trelawney, and St. Thomas-in-the-East, large and flourishing estates are yielding handsome incomes to their owners. On an estate in St. James' I found that from the same acreage they were producing more sugar than in the days of Slavery; and the negroes, so far from refusing to work, were earning (during sugar-boiling) from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* a-day, by working overtime; and the manager, a coloured man, assured me he never as yet had reason to complain of an insufficient supply of labour. Such examples as these seem to me to prove incontestably, that under proper

management, and with adequate capital, estates may continue to flourish in this 'unfortunate island.'

"On inquiry from several planters, and other gentlemen well acquainted with the resources of Jamaica, whether they thought money wisely invested would return reasonable profits, they unanimously replied, that from 10 to 20 per cent. might be counted upon.

"Why, then, it may be asked, do not men embark their capital in so hopeful a field? This may be accounted for by two opposite facts—the one, that a false impression exists in England as to the real capabilities of the island in its present condition, produced by the depressed feeling of many residents, who, accustomed in years gone by to see a profusion of wealth, are so disheartened by the poverty and ruin around them as to discourage all hope of amending the fallen fortunes of the colony, unless the Home Government will either reimpose protective duties, or encourage so vast an immigration as will more than supply the labour market. The other, that real difficulties, of no ordinary kind, do exist to the bringing back into cultivation tracts of land which already, for some time, have relapsed into the original state of 'bush.'

"As I mentioned in my last letter, in such districts a real 'want of labour' is felt. The negroes have left the valleys or sea-coast where they were before located, and are either squatting or have purchased land on the hills.

"I will briefly describe the condition of the negro families which have left the cane-fields, and are now settled in the interior of the island. It is impossible in a few lines to give a fair and thorough description of their condition, but there are several works on the subject, to which your readers may refer. Some of these free-negro villages are far from presenting a pleasing picture. Their huts are dirty and badly built, the inhabitants degraded and vicious, falling back into some of the worst superstitions of Africa. The vices of Slavery have not been removed by freedom, as they have received but little instruction, and the example of the few Europeans in their neighbourhood has not improved their moral sensibility. They are idle and wretched, and the rate of mortality is high amongst them. Marriage, as in the time of Slavery, is but lightly regarded.

"These, I believe, might be tempted by good cottages, regular wages, and kind treatment, to return to the cane-fields; but it would require good management, and a judicious and forbearing manner. If left for many years without European influence, they will, I fear, fall into as low a position as some of the worst tribes of Africa.

"But a far larger number of hill villagers are the very reverse. Where a good and earnest Clergyman or Missionary has been working



amongst them, where schools have been established, and the European influence has been moral, these negro villages may compare, for cleanliness and a general air of comfort, with our English hamlets. The cottages, constantly the property of the occupier, are well built, with three or four rooms, the sitting-room neatly furnished, and not unfrequently pictures adorn the walls. The richer, and more industrious, possess land of their own, and often employ several labourers. They grow provisions, yams, and other bread kinds, which are sold at the neighbouring market, and are often carried considerable distances to supply those who are working in the cane-fields or at some sea-port. Others grow Indian corn. One negro family, consisting of a mother and two sons, (the mother had been a slave,) had just realized at the time of my visit 140*l.* for the produce of their fields, worked by their own hands and two hired labourers. A great number cultivate the sugar-cane, but the rude manner of preparing it both diminishes the quantity and lowers the quality of the sugar; but I have seen very fair sugar for exportation raised on land in the hills near Maroon Town; and in that district one man, who had been born a slave, raised on his own land no less than *one hundred* barrels of sugar in the year.

"I think there is hardly a more pleasing sight to be found out of England than one of these villages on a Sunday morning,—the pretty white cottages, nestled in their groves of palm and cocoa-nut, with their gardens of plantains and banana, fragrant with the most beautiful tropical flowers, sending forth a crowd of well-dressed, orderly, and happy people quietly wending their way to the chapel (built at their own expense) on the neighbouring hill. To see a congregation of 800 or 1000 attentive and intelligent listeners, and to see the affection with which they regard the European Minister, whom, in some cases, they, though poor, entirely support.

"When it is remembered that these men and women were either themselves slaves, or are the children of slaves, who during slavery hardly ever attended a place of worship, and were even punished for so doing, one feels almost a righteous indignation on hearing emancipation pronounced a failure, and the condition of Jamaica held up as a disgrace to England. I venture to say that the most degraded of the free negroes are morally and socially in a better position now than they were as slaves, and that the great proportion of the black population in Jamaica are both happier and far more enlightened than negro slaves have ever been in any part of the world.

"I remain, Gentlemen, your's obediently,  
"November 27th, 1859." "ERNEST NOEL

(TO THE SAME.)

"GENTLEMEN,—In my two former letters, which you did me the honour to insert in your

valuable journal, I almost entirely confined myself to the statement of a few facts relating to the Island of Jamaica. I feel great diffidence in leaving the domain of simple observation to enter on that of opinion; and in expressing my views on the future prospects of that colony, I am fully conscious that a more complete and accurate knowledge of all the difficulties which surround the question might materially modify some of them.

"Several of the leading minds who have lately given their attention to this subject have come to the conclusion that nothing is required to bring back prosperity to the ruined estates of Jamaica but an adequate supply of regular labour.

"I am very far from denying that 50,000 Coolies would greatly increase the production of sugar, though I have very great doubts whether a much smaller number would have a proportionate result. Under the present *régime*, unless you can overstock the labour-market, I believe the effect of a partial immigration scheme would be very unsuccessful. Mr. Stephen Cave, in the able paper which he read before the National Association at Bradford, dwelt upon the effect which the example of industrious Coolies would produce on the negroes; but I think that effect was over-estimated. They might find a better example in some of their own race on several of the still flourishing estates. But granting that it would greatly tend to the prosperity of the colony, or rather would in no small degree assist the proprietors of the soil, we must examine the mode by which such a desirable result is to be obtained.

"Immigration from India and China on such a scale as in any way to meet the wants of the colony would be very costly, and two questions immediately arise—How is this expense to be met? and who is to be thereby benefited? The proprietors of Jamaica are both unwilling and unable to furnish the means for a large immigration. Some of the best informed amongst them very much doubt whether the colony would be permanently benefited. No doubt much more sugar would be grown; but it is doubted whether the profits would, in the course of years, more than cover the annual drain on the resources of the country by this continual importation and exportation of labourers.

"If the expense is to be borne by the community at large, it must be shewn that the main body of the tax-payers will receive a corresponding advantage. I fear, whatever may be the truth, you will never persuade a labouring population to believe that they will be gainers by the introduction of a competing race.

"If the planters are willing to bear the whole expense of the immigrants, both from and to India or China, the colony can have no cause to complain, and no difficulties ought to be placed in their way.

"But another grave question arises—What power is the planter to have over the immigrant, and for how long? A man of great experience in the island gave it me as his opinion, on a careful study of the question, that unless the labour of the immigrant was at least guaranteed for six years, it would not repay the proprietor the expense of the two voyages, and then only under favouring circumstances. But I should trespass too long on your space if I were to enter on the delicate question as to the amount of coercion that it is wise and lawful to place in the hands of an employer of labour.

"I candidly confess, that whilst I should rejoice to see the deserted valleys of Jamaica once more waving with canes, I have not the slightest hope of seeing this accomplished by the plan of immigration that has been proposed; and if the only hope for the slaves in America rests on the regeneration of the West Indies through Coolie labour, I fear that their bondage must be perpetual. Can nothing, then, be done for Jamaica?

"I may be mistaken, but I firmly believe that the matter rests entirely in the hands of individual owners and cultivators of the soil.

"I believe, with perhaps but one exception, legislation can do exceedingly little to remedy the evil.

"To return to protective duties is impossible, but perhaps something may be done towards preventing the terrible tide of Slave immigration that still flows freely into Cuba. I fear there is now but little doubt that at least a very appreciable portion of the prosperity of that island is sustained by the fresh importation of slaves, and of free Chinese, whose condition is even more deplorable.

"I feel that it is almost presumption in one who, though honestly and diligently, yet so hastily, has studied the subject, to venture to propose any mode by which the fallen fortunes of the colony may be restored.

The following suggestions are chiefly gathered from conversations with several managers of estates and owners of property in the island. Each one alone no doubt would effect but little, but all combined, would, I think, change the aspect of many parts of the country.

"I would first suggest that managers of estates should co-operate with missionaries, or the zealous clergy, instead of thwarting them in their arduous labours.

"Notwithstanding Mr. Trollope's remarks, I venture to say the negro can and does become as intelligent a Christian as an Englishman with similar advantages; and I would even advance further, and assert that, when well instructed, he is more easily led by religious motives than others. I received the most remarkable testimony from two gentlemen, both long residents in the West Indies, and both actively employed

during the trying season which followed emancipation, that they were bound to admit, that but for the missionaries, in the first joy of freedom, the people would have entirely left work and have generally fallen into the most terrible degradation, and that labour for the fields would have been impossible to have been obtained.

"This degradation has taken place in some parts, and labour is very scarce, though a considerable population is within a short distance of the cane-field.

"2. Education should be more regarded as an economical arrangement. The school and half-timers should be a regular supplement to the mill. I gathered some striking facts on this point.

"3. Comfortable cottages should be built, with garden land attached, and the elevation of the labourer in every way promoted. It should never be forgot, in discussing this subject, that it is not yet thirty years since the negro race was delivered from the degrading and corrupting influences of Slavery. These cottages should, where possible, be near the cane-fields, and be let at a fair rental. This is the case in Santa-Creux, and on a few flourishing estates in Jamaica.

"4. Marriages should be encouraged and promoted, and I need not say that the licentiousness of bookkeepers (instead of being, as in times gone by, connived at) should be carefully prevented.

"I believe, by attending both to the morality and health of the people by encouraging marriage, securing medical advice, and improving the dwellings, a very large increase to the population might be confidently looked for in the course of a very few years.

Regular wages, and, above all, kind and judicious treatment, would, I think, very generally secure a regular supply of labour, and, in conjunction with the ordinary skilful management of the sugar cultivation and manufacture, furnish ample returns to the owner of the soil. In some parts of the island, Governor Hinck's proposal might be adopted with success, but I do not think it could be to any very large extent applied to a scattered population. There is one system of immigration, which, if it could be carried out, would materially benefit proprietors in those localities where there is a real and irremediable scarcity of native labour, and where, at the same time, a rich soil, a perfect climate, suitable to the growth of either sugar or cotton, would amply repay the cultivator, if he could secure (what his predecessors have driven away) an industrious population.

"The system of Coolie immigration, as so successfully carried on in the Mauritius, from its proximity to India, is too costly for Jamaica; but if Coolies, Chinese, or free negroes, from the Southern States of America, could be induced, not to come to the island for a few years, but to settle with their wives and children in vil-



lages built for them in convenient situations, not only would the planters save the heavy expense of the return voyage (at the same time losing his best hands), but the natural increase of such families would greatly tend to keep him supplied with a permanent and well-trained body of labourers

"I have not taken into consideration the many other productions of the island, since I regard sugar as the most important. No investigation, however, into the future prospects of the colony would be complete without mentioning that many other staples may be produced, especially cotton, which we may hope will before long considerably advance the prosperity of this most beautiful but unfortunate dependency of the British Crown.

"I remain, Gentlemen, yours obediently,  
"Dec. 17, 1859. "ERNEST NOEL."

#### THE NEGRO PEW IN THE REV. DR. CHEEVER'S CHURCH.

WE regret to have to call attention to the existence of the Negro pew in the Rev. Dr. Cheever's church. The following letter tells its own tale. We leave the facts to speak for themselves, reserving comment until we are in a position to judge how far the Reverend gentleman named is responsible for the practice of maintaining pro-slavery distinction in a professedly anti-slavery Church.

"New York Metropolitan Hotel,  
"January 8th, 1860.

"Sir,—I arrived yesterday night in New York on my way from Europe to the Bahamas. To-day was the first Sunday I could pass in the United States. I had heard that in this country, even in the Northern States, coloured people in places of worship are obliged to occupy pews especially destined for them, and are excluded from the better seats, to which only whites are admitted. I had, however, read Dr. Cheever's sermons, entitled 'God against Slavery,' and also an account of his proceedings and position, and letters imploring for him the aid of British friends of the anti-slavery cause, in some recent numbers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. This made me think that in his church such odious distinctions would not be drawn. Consequently I drove this morning with my wife to Dr. Cheever's church, and took my wife's maid, a white girl, and my manservant, a negro, with me. It was early, the doors were just open, and, walking in, I found no pew-opener. The church is a handsome building in a square. Inside it looks like an English chapel of the finest description. There is a gallery all round, windows with coloured glass, and the pews in the body of the church are ex-

tremely comfortable, with well-filled cushions, covered with brown cloth, on the broad seats and at the backs. Outside, the building resembles more an English church than a chapel, as it has a tower on one side of the front, and three large gates near to one another. By the manner in which the few people who were there as early as myself took their places, I concluded there were no reserved seats, and I took my place with my wife in one of the pews in the middle of the building facing the pulpit, and placed the servants in the pew behind me. After silent prayer, I was reading in the Psalms, and looking over the hymn-book, waiting for the beginning of the service, when my attention was drawn to some one speaking to my black servant behind me. I turned round and perceived that a well-dressed gentleman was inviting my Negro to leave the seat he occupied, and to follow him to another he would shew him. I asked the gentleman, whom I thought was a churchwarden or some other person in authority, if the seat my servant occupied was a reserved seat. He answered me it was not, but that in this country coloured people were not allowed in the places of worship to intermix with the whites. I replied that I knew this, but that I supposed Dr. Cheever's church would, in harmony with the views he professed, make an exception to this rule. As I was told this supposition was erroneous, and in Dr. Cheever's church the same rule was observed as elsewhere, I rose to leave the church. The gentleman alluded to politely suggested there was no necessity for my leaving; that I was quite at liberty to remain where I was; and that only my black footman (it was evident he was my servant as he wore livery) had to take another seat, which he would shew him. I, however, felt no fellowship with the members of a congregation who appeared to be as much polluted as others by the great American sin, against which the minister of this church is preaching, and I felt indignant that this minister, who is represented in England as rather a martyr of the great cause, did not do away with such odious distinctions, which are manifestations the nearest akin to the sins he rebukes. I deemed it indecent to make any remonstrance, or to appeal to any higher authority, (Dr. Cheever had not yet ascended the pulpit,) as the service which was about to begin might have been disturbed by my doing so. Consequently I only said that I was astonished to meet with such sinful practices in the church of such a man as Dr. Cheever, who, at that very moment, was imploring the assistance of the friends of the anti-slavery cause in England, and I left the church with my wife, followed by the servants. As soon as I was outside, between the church and the street, a gentleman running after me, asked me politely what the other gentleman with whom I had been speaking before I left the church had said to me. I told him what had

happened, and he begged to assure me that the gentleman had no authority but as a member of the congregation, an authority which he (the one who now spoke to me) possessed also: and he added to it that he felt satisfied that the feelings expressed by him were not those of the congregation.

"I dare not condemn Dr. Cheever, as I cannot sufficiently appreciate his position, and do not know his opinion on the matter. Perhaps the question has never been brought before him. It may be that hitherto a coloured man has never ventured among the white members of his flock. I think, however, no British friend of the anti-slavery cause ought to give him any assistance before all distinctions of skin are decidedly abolished in his church; and to operate such a desirable change will be the easier to him, as it seems there exists amongst the members of his congregation a difference of opinion on the subject. It is therefore, Sir, that I would feel very much obliged if you would kindly insert this letter in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

"Respectfully yours,  
"ROCHUSSEN."

#### DISABILITIES OF AMERICAN PERSONS OF COLOUR IN ENGLAND.

In our last Summary we referred to the treatment to which some highly-respectable coloured persons had been obliged to submit during their passage from New York to Liverpool, on board one of the American line of packet steamers. It appears that the same reasons which led to the exclusion of the persons in question from the state-cabin, for the accommodation of which they had, nevertheless, paid, and to their being prevented from associating with the other passengers, influence the members of the American Legation, and render it impossible for any coloured person born in America to obtain the ordinary facilities for continental travelling. The Dred Scott decision asserting that "people of colour have no rights of citizenship" is, it appears, recognised in the diplomatic practice of the American Legation, as a fundamental principle of international law. This fact presents one more proof of the vitiating influence of Slavery.

The following correspondence, which has had a wide circulation in the English newspapers, explains itself, and will fully justify our remarks.

"6 Grenville-street, Brunswick-square, W.C.,  
"Dec. 12, 1859.

"Sir—I beg to inform you that a short time since I went to the office of the American Embassy to have my passport *viséd* for France.

"I should remark that my passport is an American one, granted to me in the United States, and signed by the Minister in due form. It states what is the fact,—that I am a citizen

of the United States. I was born in Massachusetts.

"Upon my asking to have my passport *viséd* at the American Embassy, the person in the office refused to affix the *visa*, on the ground that I am a person of colour.

"Being a citizen of the United States, I respectfully demand as my right that my passport be *viséd* by the Minister of my country.

"As I am desirous of starting for the Continent, I must request an answer at your earliest convenience.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"SARAH P. REMOND.

"The Hon. — Dallas, American Minister,  
"24, Portland-place."

"Legation of the United States, London,  
"Dec. 14, 1859.

"Miss Sarah P. Remond—I am directed by the Minister to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 12th inst., and to say, in reply, he must, of course, be sorry if any of his countrywomen, irrespective of colour or extraction, should think him frivolously disposed to withhold from them facilities in his power to grant for travelling on the continent of Europe; but when the indispensable qualification for an American passport, that of 'United-States' citizenship, does not exist,—when, indeed, it is manifestly an impossibility by law that it should exist,—a just sense of his official obligations under instructions received from his Government as long ago as the 8th of July 1856, and since then strictly conformed to, constrains him to say that the demand of Miss Sarah P. Remond cannot be complied with.

"Respectfully your obedient servant,

"BENJN. MORAN,

"Assistant-Secretary of Legation."

"Sir—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date.

"The purport of your communication is most extraordinary. You now lay down the rule that persons free-born in the United States, and who have been subjected all their lives to the taxation and other burdens imposed upon American citizens, are to be deprived of their rights as such, merely because their complexions happen to be dark, and that they are to be refused the aid of the Ministers of their country, whose salaries they contribute to pay.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"SARAH P. REMOND."

"Passport.—I, the undersigned Secretary of State of the United States of America, hereby request all whom it may concern to permit safely and freely to pass Sarah P. Remond, a citizen of the United States, and in case of need to give her all lawful aid and protection.

"Given under my hand, and the impression of my seal of the Department of State of the City of Washington, the 10th day of September, A.D. 1858, in the 33rd year of the Independence of these United States. "LEWIS CASS.

"Department of State."



## MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR WISE OF VIRGINIA.

ON the 5th December ultimo Governor Wise delivered his Annual Message to the Legislature. We give a summary of it, from the *Morning Star*, from which it will be perceived that the Fugitive Slave Law is working an enormous amount of mischief, and threatens to compromise the prerogation of each individual State. If Ohio will not submit to allow the arrest of fugitives, and the Federal Government insists, a collision must sooner or later ensue. It is clear, too, from the following abstract of the Message, that the spread of Abolitionism is regarded with much alarm. The sign is a hopeful one.

"The Message speaks of the spirit of fanaticism and one idea of the abolitionists, which has seemed to madden whole masses of one entire section of the country, which enters into their religion, education, politics, prayers, courts of justice, and legislatures; which has trained up three generations in moral and social habits of hatred to the masters of African slaves in the United States, but turns not upon Slavery elsewhere; which would have sent a rescue to assassins, robbers, murderers, and traitors, whom it has sent to felons' graves. Unless the numerical majority shall cease to violate the confederate faith, and cease to disturb our peace, to destroy our lives and property, and to deprive us of all protection and redress under the perverted forms and distorted workings of the Union, we must take up arms. The issue is too essential to be compromised any more. We cannot stand such insults and outrages as those of the Harper's Ferry without suffering worse than death as citizens, and without suffering, in dishonour, the death of a State. It is not to be denied that we have many sound and sincere friends in the non-slaveholding States, but the conservative elements are passive, while the fanatical are active; and the former is fast diminishing, while the latter is increasing in numbers and force.

"With regard to the insurgents, he says it is mockery to call them monomaniacs; if they were, then a large portion of the people of many of the States are monomaniacs. The leader himself spurned this plea, and it was not put in upon the trials. They were prompted by the evil spirits of incendiarism, which demoralized a numerous host of enemies behind them, who now sympathise with their deeds before the world. These hired them, without themselves incurring the risk of their crimes; and no wonder they now sympathise with them, even to madness, and that John Brown despised the hypocritical cant of their pretence that he was insane. The execution of our laws is necessary, to warn future victims not again to be the tool of this sympathy. We have friends, or we have not, in the States whence these invaders came. They must now be not only conservative, but active, to prevent the invader coming. It was impossible for so much of such sympathy to exist without exciting bad men to action—rescue or revenge. On this he acted. He has been compelled, by

the apprehension of the most unparalleled border war, to place the State in as full panoply of military defence as if foreign enemies invaded the United States. Indeed, one most irritating feature of this predatory war is, that it has its seat in British provinces, which furnish asylums for our fugitives, and send them and their hired outlaws upon us from dépôts and rendezvous in the bordering States. There is no danger from our slaves or coloured people. The slaves taken refused to take up arms; and the first man killed was a respectable free negro, while running from the philanthropist who came to liberate the black race.

"In closing the Message he says, 'We must rely upon ourselves; fight for peace; organize and arm, demand of each State what position she means to maintain, in the future, in respect to Slavery, and the provision of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and the provision of the State laws for its protection in our federal relations; and be governed according to the manner in which the demand may be answered. We are in arms.' With regard to the reports and rumours of organized conspiracies to obstruct our laws, the Government says they were from so many sources, so simultaneous, so far apart, from persons so unlike in evidences of education, they could be from no conspiracy to hoax; but he relied not so much upon them as upon 'the earnest continued appeal of sympathisers with crimes. Let us defend our own position, or yield at once. Let us have action, and resolve a definite settlement; no more temporising with the Constitution; no more compromises. The other convicts await execution, and will be executed unless the General Assembly orders otherwise. This will meet the open invasion, but acts only on individual convicts, and does not settle the question of our peace and protection in the future. It remains only for me to offer myself, all that I am and all that I have, to the commonwealth, whenever she may order me or mine in service when my term of office closes.' On the 6th, Governor Wise laid before the Legislature a letter from the Governor of Ohio in reply to one of his. Mr. Chace says, 'Ohio, will fill every constitutional obligation to other members of the Union, but cannot consent to an invasion of her territory by armed men, even for the purpose of pursuing and arresting fugitives from justice.'

"The second Message makes detailed commendations, and alludes to State matters generally."

## COTTON FROM AUSTRALIA.

WE subjoin a letter which appeared in the *Times* of the 10th December last, with a view to calling attention to the new cotton-fields which are being opened every year. There is, however, one great drawback to turning them to account, namely, the circumstance that immigrant labour is demanded for this purpose. If the Chinese or Indians can be induced to emigrate freely to these portions of the Australasian continent—for though an island, its dimensions warrant its being con-

sidered as a continent—and to settle in their new home, good would doubtless result; but a system of “immigration,” for cotton-growing purposes, which constitutes the employer the master of the labourer, ought not to be permitted. Labour should be free and willing, or it is akin to slave-labour. Still, we are quite alive to the advantages of the new field, which were dwelt upon years ago by the Rev. Dr. Laing.

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

“SIR,—In the Australian news published in the *Times* of to-day mention is made of some samples of good cotton having been received at Sydney, and it is stated that dearness of labour is the great obstacle to the extended cultivation in Queensland.

“Now, Sir, by means of labourers from India that small island Mauritius has raised its produce of sugar from less than 30,000 tons per annum to more than 100,000 tons per annum. In like manner, by means of labourers from China and India, Australia may be made to yield as much cotton as the mills of Lancashire can spin. Queensland has supplied some of the finest samples of cotton ever exhibited in Manchester. Although I fully admit the importance of India and Africa as cotton-producing countries, I feel well assured, that for obtaining a speedy and large supply of cotton, ranging in quality from ‘good ordinary’ up to Sea Island, Australia presents facilities greater than Africa and India combined.

“In Australia there is security for life and property, a first-class cotton-growing climate, and a virgin soil, which cause the plant to yield abundantly as a perennial, thus saving the heavy expense of annual planting. British colonists, also, are there. Labour only is wanting, and that can be obtained from China in exhaustless quantity. At the end of their term of service the imported labourers would return to their native land possessed of some little knowledge of the English language, cash savings, a practical acquaintance with systematic high-class farming, and with Anglicised wants: they would thus become social and industrial missionaries, and would introduce British ideas to the inner portion of the Chinese empire in a more effective manner than by any other means. Even now the Chinese population of Australia numbers over 40,000 persons: an additional 200,000 introduced for the purpose of cotton-growing could produce 1,000,000 bales of good cotton annually. I will only add that all imported labourers should be treated in a just and humane manner.

“I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
“Manchester, Dec. 8. “WILLIAM CROSS.”

**Advertisements.**

*New ready, in Two Volumes, post 8vo., with Map and Illustrations, 21s. bound,*

TRAVELS IN EASTERN AFRICA,

With the Narrative of a Residence in Mozambique, 1856—1858.

By LYONS M'LEOD, Esq., F.R.G.S.,

Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences, and of the Meteorological Society, Mauritius; late H.B.M. British Consul, Mozambique, &c.

London: Hurst and Blackett.

Copies may be had of the Author, on application to him, 15, Whitehall Place.

*Just published,*

A MEMOIR OF ANTHONY BENEZET,

One of the earliest and most indefatigable advocates of the injured Negro.

By WILSON ARMISTEAD.

*Cloth Gilt, 2s. 6d.; Stiff Paper Covers, 2s.*

At Benezet's funeral an American officer rethanked “I had rather be Anthony Benezet in a coffin than General Washington with all his fame.”

\* \* A considerable portion of the edition being disposed of, early orders are requested, either through the Booksellers, or

WILSON ARMISTEAD,

Water Hall, Leeds.

A liberal allowance to parties ordering one dozen or more copies for distribution.

**HALIFAX LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.**

THE Bazaar already announced by this Society will be held in the Mechanic's Hall, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 29th of February and 1st of March. The Committee have pleasure in stating that one stall at least will be furnished with foreign articles from Paris, Switzerland, Germany, and America.

Contributions in work and donations of money are earnestly requested, and will be thankfully received by the following ladies in Halifax:

Mrs. Hargreaves, Lord Street; Mrs. Crafts, North Parade; Miss Ibbetson, Heathfield Place; Mrs. Carpenter, Milton Place.